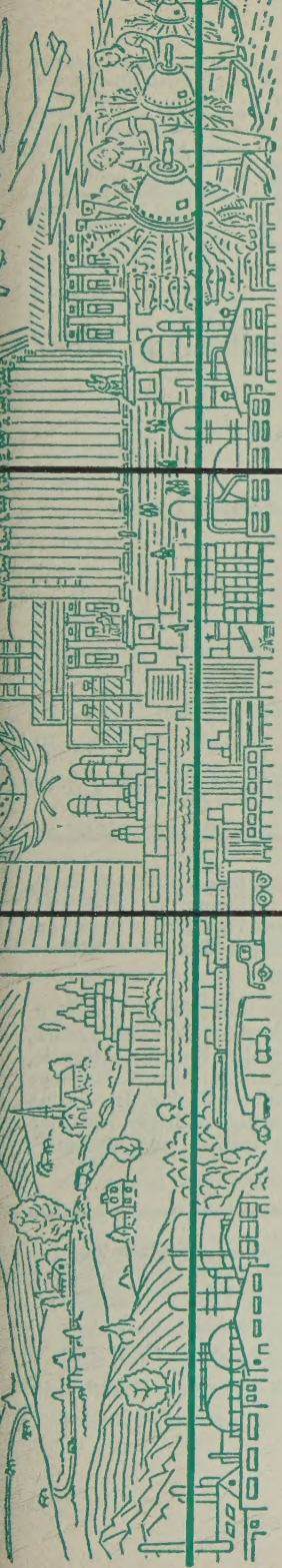

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SOCIAL PROGRESS

DESEGREGATION

— Facing the situation where you are

SOCIAL PROGRESS

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors—not the official policy of the Department of Social Education and Action or of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

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From This Vantage Point

In introducing this month's Social Progress, which deals with the response of the churches and their members to racial segregation, the most urgent domestic issue before the nation, we would like to emphasize the following points:

1. The churches are being tested by this issue and will be tested for the next decade or more. If the churches do not respond in faithfulness, they may remain (even flourish) as institutions, but will they not cease to be the living church of Christ through which God speaks and acts?

2. We need to remember that the response of a church to racial segregation must be in terms of the situation it faces in its own community. No two communities are alike. With respect to patterns of segregation, there are important differences between Phoenix and Philadelphia, between Chicago and Chattanooga, between Birmingham and Boston, between Detroit and Denver, between South Carolina and South Dakota.

3. The social pronouncements of the General Assembly, especially since 1954, have spoken directly and sharply to the issue of racial segregation and to the related responsibilities of the churches and their members. The pronouncements are addressed in a general way to all the churches. They do not attempt to take into account the differences in situations the churches face with respect to segregation. This means that some of the pronouncements are more applicable in one section of the country than in another section. For example, in 1956 the General Assembly called upon the churches for an attack on residential segregation—a venture that is much more feasible for churches in Princeton than

for churches in communities where the immediate issue is school desegregation. The pronouncements proclaim not only a goal ("a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society") but also "way stations" along the road to that goal (school desegregation, fair employment practices, voting rights, "color-blind" evangelism).

To be faithful is to respond in obedience to God where we are in our situation, and to move in obedience in the direction he wants us to go. To be faithless is not to respond to God in our situation, to do nothing, to stand still. The pronouncements endeavor to keep ever before us the goal and the way stations, as spurs to action. They depend upon every Presbyterian leader's realism in evaluating his situation, and upon his faithfulness and obedience to God in that situation.

4. In this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS we attempt to describe six different kinds of situations with respect to segregation, ranging from the most difficult (where nearly everything seems to be against the breaking of the color line) to the most promising (where nearly everything is favorable to racial inclusiveness). We know that our categories are too general, and too generally described, but we trust that many churches will be helped by these descriptions to see more clearly the steps they can take realistically and with some hope of success in the direction of "a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society."

5. In many situations it will not be easy for the churches to face squarely the issue of segregation and to respond in faithfulness, especially where there is an idolatrous attachment to the *status quo* and a fear of controversy. Some may be required to suffer. But in the Christian fellowship, when one suffers for Christ's sake, we all suffer—and we learn to bear one another's burdens.

The important, brief, one-shot pronouncement on racial segregation adopted by the 169th General Assembly at Omaha last May appears on page 5.

The pronouncements for 1954, 1955, and 1956 (which deal with the response of the churches to racial segregation) are summarized on pages 36-39.

Descriptions of six kinds of situations with respect to segregation patterns and climates, together with suggestions for the churches in these situations, appear on pages 6-35.

—The SEA Staff

1957

Pronouncement on Race as Adopted by the 169th General Assembly

BELIEVING that racial segregation is a problem of such magnitude and urgency that it takes precedence over other social issues in American life today;

Acknowledging that the continuing tensions with regard to race relations expose the faithlessness of the church;

Being convinced that the General Assembly has stated the position of our church so clearly and explicitly that further exhortation can only emphasize the gulf between what we profess and what we do,

The 169th General Assembly

Directs the Department of Social Education and Action:

1. To undertake suitable studies and surveys to discover the extent to which racial integration has been achieved in the church and in its agencies and institutions,

2. To develop a comprehensive, effective, unified program for the whole church to achieve a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society,

3. To report to the next General Assembly;

Calls on ministers and sessions of churches, on presbyteries and synods, on the boards and agencies of the church, on Presbyterian-related institutions, to co-operate in this effort to implement the General Assembly deliverances of 1954, 1955, and 1956, which deal with race relations;

Commends the Stated Clerk for his forthright compliance with the directive of the 1956 General Assembly concerning "victims of reprisals" in the Sumter, South Carolina, case (as reported in *Presbyterian Life*, January 5, 1957) and urges him to continue to give such counsel and assistance to "victims of reprisals" as he may judge to be appropriate;

Makes bold to call the members and ministers of the churches to the vocation of suffering for the sake of truth and justice, for "we should not be surprised at the fiery ordeal which comes upon us" (I Peter 4: 12) when we seek to obey the call of Christ, and to encourage and support one another in bearing witness to the gospel according to which God makes no distinctions as to race or origin;

Expresses our sense of fellowship with those of our own and other communions who have suffered for their witness to the gospel in this matter.

"The Sky's the Limit"

_____if you don't ask for too much too soon

This is the kind of situation in which practically all the external, visible forces are favorable to an increasingly broad and deep integration.

1. It is usually a metropolitan area.

2. There is a workable state (and perhaps municipal) Fair Employment Practices Commission or its equivalent.

3. There may be a *reasonably* workable state law against discrimination in public or publicly assisted housing.

4. There are state or local laws that proscribe discrimination in education.

5. The same is true of public accommodations.

6. Several active agencies working in the field of intergroup relations are available for educational programs, social action efforts, or "incident control." There will usually be a vigorous local NAACP branch.

7. The climate of public opinion is highly favorable, so that overt, public expressions of prejudice or discrimination are "socially unacceptable."

8. Racially "inclusive" churches are fairly easy to find, and racially "integrated" churches are not unique —but neither is *typical*.

9. Nonwhite persons do not find it necessary to telephone in advance to make sure they will be courteously served in restaurants, hotels, theaters, and other places of public accommodation.

10. In school districts where there is a racially mixed residential pattern or where school buildings are located between a white and a Negro residential section, there is school integration of students and sometimes of faculty.

At the same time, at the heart of what appears on the surface to be an island of nonsegregated society, the vast majority of its citizens live and work, play and worship in segregated enclaves.

11. At the center of the metropolitan area is frequently a Negro ghetto.

12. At the edge of the "inner-city" is frequently a "mixed" neighborhood that is in the process of becoming increasingly monoracial, i.e., Negro, because of the white flight to the suburbs.

13. At the edge of the city limits

and on out into the suburbs and "exurbs" is almost always a white residential ring that is effectively closed to Negro home buyers.

14. The institutions and public accommodations in these suburban areas usually reflect fairly accurately the racial make-up of the areas.

15. Leaders in the Negro community tend to have conflicting attitudes within themselves with regard to some aspects of desegregation because of a vested interest in the existing pattern. For example, when white churches desegregate, the process tends to skim off the best lay leadership of the Negro churches. No minister, regardless of his color, can have wholly altruistic attitudes toward such a loss, even if it contributes to a larger good.

16. The majority of the members of the white community (and its churches) tend to have serious *private* misgivings and inner conflicts about desegregation. Many, if not most, will be "not prejudiced, but . . ." Many still believe that it is possible to have a just and nondiscriminatory society within the pattern of segregation.

17. Employment patterns continue to be predominantly discriminatory, in spite of Fair Employment Practices laws and good intentions. *Color-blind hiring and upgrading strictly on the basis of qualifications is, with rare exceptions, a myth.* Where an organization, or a department within an organization, has a racially integrated work force, this has almost always come about because some person or persons deliberately and self-consciously sought to make it so.

18. The prevailing pattern of residential segregation and the inability of Negro home buyers to bid on the open market for good, new houses continues to be the most nearly impregnable bastion of a still-segregated society.

19. Some public institutions of higher education maintain a covert "quota system" of student admissions. Few private (or denominational) white colleges have a biracial faculty. Almost none have Negroes on the board of trustees.

20. Negro clergymen face the prospect of having to serve a segregated (Negro) church for many years to come. This means for them an almost completely segregated life, except for presbytery or conference meetings.

21. An adult Negro can never forget, probably *dares* not forget, that he is a Negro. He lives his life with the knowledge that he is first a Negro, secondly, a human being, and maybe thirdly, a Christian. The white person, if he thinks about it at all, can regard himself as first a human being, maybe a Christian, and just incidentally white. But he can forget that he is white for days or weeks at a time without having events bring his "whiteness" painfully to his attention.

If many of these characteristics and others are true of the "sky's the limit" situation, what are some of the unfinished tasks of the church and of Christians who are committed to the goal of "a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society"?

(1) The continuing process of "education" by which people of good will are exposed, firsthand if possible, to the realities of the situation and to what our church professes about

them. White Christians cannot even begin to understand what minority persons endure without a deeper fellowship with them that brings mutuality and trust.

This suggests the importance of establishing some continuing means of association and communication between white and Negro people.

In local church studies of race relations (perhaps under the leadership of persons who have participated in summer school courses on the churches and public affairs), it would be useful—

• To study the ways in which Negro leaders are participating in community activities (welfare, cultural and educational, political, religious) and their relations to the power groups that make decisions about public issues.

• To meet with Negro ministers and lay persons for the purpose of assessing the "race relations" needs of the community, and discovering what must be done to keep communication open across racial lines.

(2) The opening up of employment opportunities in job categories now largely limited to white persons.

As the churches look at fair employment opportunities in the community, they can overlook neither their employment policies nor their responsibility for encouraging influential employers and professional groups to adopt nondiscriminatory practices.

Larger churches with multiple staffs should consider engaging Negro staff members (in other than janitorial positions). Fair employment in the churches means that ministers and church staff are called to serve solely on the basis of their professional qualifications and their commitment to Jesus Christ the Lord of all.

Influential business and professional leaders serving on sessions and church boards should try—

• To open skilled and technical jobs to qualified Negro workers.

• To provide promising Negro young people with opportunities for technical education and on-the-job training.

Christian parents and school counselors should encourage Negro young people to train for jobs that may not now be open to them, and then keep working with business and labor leaders to open new job categories to qualified Negro applicants.

(3) The opening of house-buying opportunities for nonwhite families in areas now closed to them.

Efforts to desegregate churches, schools, and public services will be of little avail unless housing is desegregated. This requires—

• Concerted and personalized appeals to home builders, realtors, bankers, to change present real estate practices that perpetuate Negro ghettos and suburban discrimination.

• Concerted encouragement of Presbyterian families to open housebuying opportunities in their neighborhoods to Negro families. (See "Covenants of Open Occupancy" on page 20 of SOCIAL PROGRESS, March, 1957.)

• Conferences with Negro families to gain firsthand understanding of their housing needs.

• Co-operative efforts with other religious bodies, civic groups, and planning councils to work out practical steps for integrating neighborhoods.

(4) The securing of staff and board openings for qualified nonwhite persons in institutions of higher education.

(A similar unfinished task remains to be tackled in other institutions, such as hospitals and homes for the aging.)

Here sessions can give specific support and encouragement to presbytery in adopting firm nondiscriminatory policies for Presbyterian institutions, suggesting for example that—

- Well-qualified Negro persons be placed in nomination for board and staff positions.

(5) The strengthening of existing laws, the seeking of adequate appropriations for their implementation, and the "watchdogging" of their enforcement.

Presbyterians may support human rights measures by—

- Friendly association and personal acquaintance with state legislators, city councilmen, staff members of the government agencies responsible for administering existing human rights laws and ordinances. These public officials may be asked to address church gatherings.
- Membership in agencies and organizations supporting human rights and working for integration.
- Volunteer service on advisory boards of fellowship or human rights commissions that safeguard human rights and freedoms.

(6) The securing of counsel and assistance, based on experience, in situations where desegregation efforts are meeting resistance or frustration.

People of good will in the churches can specifically assist in changing situations and tension areas by—

- Establishing personal contacts and relationships with the people who are involved.
- Finding social, political, and religious resources that may be mobilized to help them.

(7) Increasing the opportunities for creative encounter across racial lines between persons whose lives and thinking would otherwise be segregated.

Some imagination is needed here. Church leaders might take initiative, perhaps through neighborhood groups or in councils of churches, to launch—

- Projects in the arts—choral groups, religious drama, and music festivals.
- Interest groups for children and adults which might grow out of vacation church schools.
- Hobby shows and nature-study groups.
- Sports events.

In such programs people can discover common interests and new means of friendship and association.

"Everybody's for Integration"

_____ in public, that is

The "sky's the limit" situation and "everybody's for integration" are in many respects similar to each other. What distinguishes them is the amount of work that remains to be done, the number of areas that need special attention, and frequently the number of resources available for the job.

For example, there is no question in the mind of most experienced intergroup relations specialists that a Fair Employment Practices Commission, operating with adequate budget under a workable state law or municipal ordinance, is the turning point in the struggle to open up equal job opportunities. There are, however, no widespread illusions about FEPC's ability, of itself, to bring about significant changes. With few exceptions, such a law is obtained only after several years of continuous and carefully planned effort (in Pennsylvania it took nine years, in Michigan, eight).

Misinformation about FEPC continues to be widespread. The task of securing the law from the legislature, the task of public relations after it is passed, and the task of making its spirit operable are quite different. It may be easier to persuade Corporation X in Kansas City, which has no FEPC, to institute nondiscriminatory employment policies than to compel Corporation Y in Philadelphia, which is under an FEPC, to do so.

But, generally speaking, where "the sky's the limit if you don't ask for too much" the task that remains is primarily one of consolidating the gains and deepening the penetrations in the walls of segregation. (The major exception is in housing.) Where "everybody's for integration in public," the immediate task is that of breaching several more walls.

What are some of the characteristics that are likely to be found in this second type of situation where, as in the first, the climate of public opinion seems to be favorable to integration?

1. There may be a state Fair Employment Practices law, but it is likely to be only recently passed, or burdened by lack of budget, or handicapped by being only "educational" in function.

2. The state may have an excellent, well-equipped Fair Employment Practices Commission that lacks in suburban or out-state areas the staff and local determination to make it applicable.

3. There may likely be, at best, only one local agency, council, or organization interested in intergroup relations, and it will probably have

no full-time staff people. If there is a local NAACP branch, it may lack vigor and constituency or take on the nature of a social club.

4. Racially inclusive churches (except for those white ones whose Negro janitors are members) are hard to find, and a thoroughly integrated church is almost unknown.

5. Residential patterns are rigidly segregated, and if the possibility of a nonwhite "break-through" is imminent, there is immediate organized resistance. Violence to persons is unlikely, but property damage is possible.

6. Negro persons are seldom seen in places of public accommodation (except theaters, parks, and public transportation) and would often feel it necessary to check in advance to make sure they would receive courteous service.

7. White persons who from time to time entertain Negroes as equals in their homes may be subjected to mild, or even strong, social ostracism.

8. Nonwhite persons are rarely, if ever, seen in other than menial employment positions. Few Negroes ever apply for "status" jobs, and would probably be turned away (for some other stated reason) if they did.

9. Race relations are hardly ever discussed in public meetings (such as the P.T.A., for example), but if they are, overt expressions of prejudice are frowned upon. Private discussions are another matter. The usual racial stereotypes are probably stenciled on the minds of most white persons, children as well as adults, but to a lesser degree, because *some* schools may be desegregated.

10. Negro leadership may be quiescent on the subject of race relations, at best waiting for a more opportune time, at worst resistant to any "rocking of the boat."

11. White leadership may be widely unconcerned and uninformed until a racial "incident" thrusts the unpleasant fruits of segregation to its attention.

12. There is a widespread, but deeply repressed, sense of guilt among white persons that may lead to unconscious feelings of satisfaction and self-righteousness when the agony of the South's resistance makes the news.

While there is considerable overlapping between this kind of general situation and the one described earlier, on pages 6-9, there is also a similarity and duplication of tasks remaining to be done. The difference may be largely one of degree rather than kind, or of making a beginning as compared with furthering some advances already made. Generally speaking, the following constitute a working "agenda" ("things to be done") in the "everybody's for it in public" situation:

(1) The creation of a core group of concerned persons who will make it their business to keep generally informed and to probe behind the scenes in the local racial situation. Such a "Council on Human Relations" (as it might be called) should be racially, economically, and politically representative, and contain prestige persons in the community if at all possible.

The core group in many communities may frequently get its impetus in a crisis or in response to some race "incident." But without waiting for crises, two or three Pres-

byterians might be the nucleus for this concerned "core." To begin, they will need—

- Training and technical advice, which can be most readily acquired at the annual race relations institutes sponsored by Fisk University, or by the National Council of Churches, or in social education and action courses at Presbyterian regional and synod summer leadership schools. Comparable training experiences are often available locally from urban intergroup relations agencies.
- Allies among other religious and civic bodies, who can be found by joining local chapters of such groups as NAACP, the Urban League, and the American Civil Liberties Union. In most cities Jewish leaders in the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and branches of the American Jewish Committee will be particularly informed and responsible associates.
- Study of community resources and problems by joining with other concerned persons. Effective social action requires that each church engage in a running study of its parish and the programs and aims of the church in the parish area.
- Facts gained through reading and personal observation of slums and blighted areas, and visits to schools, playgrounds, and police courts in these areas.
- Understanding of the role that minority persons are permitted to play in community councils, fund drives, and other phases of community life.
- Knowledge through firsthand investigation of the treatment of Negroes and other minorities by the police in courts and jails. Basic civil liberties are most frequently threatened in police courts, where the average American comes in contact with "the law." Brutal police methods coupled with court delays need to be exposed where they exist.

For specific help in organizing a representative community group—Human Rights Commission style—write the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officers (NAIRO), Box 246, Madison Square Station, New York 10, N. Y.

(2) The instituting of a carefully planned educational program of Christian human relations in the particular church—one that stretches the "tolerance level" of the members so that concern, sensitivity, and a desire for knowledge are awakened.

Study *about* Christian race relations—even with the *Christian Faith and Life* curriculum—in segregated church schools will not solve the problem of prejudice by itself. Unless the church provides many opportunities for Negro and white people to meet and worship together, study may actually reinforce prejudice and racial stereotyping. Here are methods used in various churches:

- "Exchanges" between Negro and white churches of ministers, choirs, church school classes, speakers, circle leaders.
- Subscriptions to these magazines for the church library: *Ebony*, the picture-news fortnightly, and *Crisis*, the monthly journal of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
- Showing and discussion of carefully selected movies or filmstrips at church family nights and teachers' meetings (to show the psychological causes and results of prejudice), followed by group discussion.

• Parent-teacher forums or workshops. Invite an expert in child psychology, a social worker, a schoolteacher, and parents of school children to participate in a panel discussion of the topic "Is Prejudice Poisoning Our Children?" Use as a basis for this study *They Learn What They Live,* by Helen Trager. Harper & Brothers, $4.00. (This book reports an extensive research project to measure the perceptions and attitudes of children in six public schools in Philadelphia from kindergarten to second grade. The findings of this Early Childhood Project have startled even experts, many of whom have assumed that children are not prejudiced. A special tool, the "Social Episodes Test," was used to measure child prejudice. Thirty-two per cent of the white children tested had mixed or neutral feelings toward Negro people. Sixty-eight per cent openly rejected them, and none at all accepted them.)

• Study of Missionary Education materials—particularly recommended, *Kingdom Beyond Caste,* by Liston Pope.

This educational program may be initiated by women's and youth groups as they study "Christ, the Church, and Race," a 1957–1958 mission study theme. With the guidance of the minister and the session's Christian education committee, all church groups can be involved.

(3) The correcting of local surface practices such as gratuitous race-labeling in newspaper news stories and want ads, the absence of any human relations programs in the school system and local radio or TV station, the continuance of "minstrel shows" (see *Everyone Welcome,* p. 57, for evaluation of the "minstrel show").

• Investigate human rights in the news. Make a file of newspaper clippings reporting news involving minority groups. Church members can make a positive contribution to Christian race relations by protesting every news account of crime that identifies persons involved by race or national origin (except for the purpose of aiding in the apprehension of criminals), and also by commending newspapers for their contributions toward improved community race relations. Church groups can also help by urging newspapers to publish news of constructive interracial activities and association.

• Organize a radio workshop to prepare and present broadcasts about brotherhood and intergroup cooperation. Ask qualified social science instructors at high schools and nearby colleges to assist.

Youth in several communities are following the idea developed in the "Youth Forum" conducted by *The New York Times* each Saturday morning over WQXR. These forums bring to the microphone each week a different panel of six young people, selected by their classmates. Several hundred teen-agers in the audience exchange views and ideas with the panel. Intergroup problems and social and political issues are discussed.

• Protest radio and television programs that lampoon and ridicule Negro people. Many thoughtful people of both races object to mammy songs, and programs like "Amos 'n' Andy" and "Beulah" which perpetuate stereotypes of Negroes as buffoons and servants. Minstrel shows also deserve sharp criticism because they perpetuate stereotypes

and effectually support an evil caste system.

• Investigate and report on whether public schools and group work agencies (Scouts, Y.M.C.A., neighborhood centers) are teaching effectively and responsibly about intergroup relations and attitudes.

Follow this discussion with whatever action is required to correct problems.

(4) The engaging of local Christians in a "covenant of open occupancy" as a first step toward opening up house-buying opportunities for nonwhite families.

Suggestions for initiating and implementing "Covenants of Open Occupancy for Presbyterians" and a draft "Covenant," in line with the 1956 General Assembly pronouncements on residential desegregation, are available from the Department of Social Education and Action. In such covenants Presbyterians unite to "promote inclusive residential patterns, mitigate 'panic selling,' and stabilize [their] neighborhoods on a nonsegregated basis."

The General Assembly has asked sessions of Presbyterian churches to initiate "covenants of open occupancy." One Presbyterian church has already done this with encouraging results.

(5) Finding and encouraging well-qualified minority persons to apply for available employment, i.e., making FEPC operate if it exists, and initiating it on a voluntary basis where it does not exist.

In many communities there is an acute shortage of teachers, nurses, social workers, and technicians in various fields. Minority persons should be moving into these professions and may be reached through local church contacts with—

• Westminster Foundations on university campuses.

• High school counselors who are advising young people on their careers.

• The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. A 1957 publication of the Fund, *Blue-Print for Talent Searching,* reports projects in the South and in New York City to find and encourage able students.

Ministers are frequently asked to give pastoral counseling on vocational problems, and may be in a strategic position to direct minority persons to these new employment fields, and into training for jobs that may just be opening on a nondiscriminatory basis.

(6) Such other tasks as those listed above on pages 7-9 that may be immediately and realistically undertaken.

Here more than a word should be said about the value and usefulness of resolutions and pronouncements by church bodies. Many resolutions adopted by the state councils of churches upholding the Supreme Court ruling and enjoining communities to orderly compliance in desegregating the schools were *timely* and helpful.

In other situations we can recall that resolutions have been worthless —in terms of influencing public policy. They have been uttered when it would be "safe" and uncontroversial for the church to speak, or they have simply "commended" an action that would have been taken anyway with or without any encouragement from the good people of the town.

Then, too, countless resolutions have failed in their mission because they have never reached the people who were making the decision. A presbytery in southern Ohio adopted a forthright statement on integrated recreation and *voted against* communicating it to the city council and the public press because it was "too hot" an issue for churches to handle.

"No Problem Here"

until you start probing

The "no problem" situations, unlike the others, are more uniform in characteristics and, in the North at least, probably take in more geographical territory than any other type. In a very real sense, with no facetiousness intended, they confront the church with a more difficult problem to solve than do those areas of conscious and calculated resistance to desegregation efforts. What are some of their characteristics?

1. Typically, no Negro families (or at most two or three) reside within miles of the area. Other nonwhite minority groups may be present and thought of, in a quite different sense, as a "problem."

2. The area is not highly industrialized.

3. When the subject of race relations is brought up (which is usually a rare occurrence), the common response is, "We have no Negro problem here." Implicit in such a comment is the assumption that what constitutes the "problem" is the physical presence itself of a numerically and visibly prominent Negro minority.

(*Note:* In another type of situation, and from a different point of view, the "no problem" comment can be heard with reference to a sizable, but quiescent and placid, Negro minority who "stay in their place.")

4. Such a situation is not thought of by the vast majority of its residents as "segregated," since there is nobody there to segregate. Many would resent it if the term were applied to their area.

5. Discrimination in places of public accommodation against Negroes traveling through such areas is not uncommon. For example, a Negro family motoring from the East to the West Coast may for days at a time find it next to impossible to locate a hotel or motel in which to spend the night, or a restaurant in which to sit down and eat dinner.

6. Malicious and virulent preju-

dice is uncommon. But many of the crude stereotypes of Negroes are still extant and are passed on unconsciously to children at an early age in the form of "Rastus" jokes about watermelons, graveyards, and preachers. Less gentle generalizations and clichés about dirtiness, immorality, irresponsibility, and intermarriage also may constitute the sum total of available "information" about Negroes to many white persons.

7. At the same time such stereotypic thinking does not usually involve a heavy emotional investment by individuals in the "no problem" situation. It presents a difficult problem for the church to overcome because of its breadth and near-universality, rather than because of its depth and intensity. It constitutes what might be called a "culture pattern" comparable to eating with a fork. Changing the pattern of stereotyped thinking would be comparable (though not so difficult) to changing the mass pattern of table manners.

8. There are hardly ever any organizations or agencies present with an interest or concern about intergroup relations.

9. If the area is rural, there may be periodic visits by migrant agricultural workers, who are likely to be Southern Negroes or Spanish-speaking people. Since their presence is temporary, their living conditions, sanitation and medical facilities, schooling and other public services, and worship opportunities are likely to be neglected and marginal.

10. Enforcement of laws dealing with equal employment opportunities, public accommodations, and so on, even if they exist, is likely to be poor, because actual discrimination (lacking a target most of the time) is rare.

11. A self-perpetuating cycle has a strong tendency to persist. Racial attitudes of prejudice and stereotyped thinking have no chance to be modified by actual experience across racial lines. On those rare occasions when a Negro family "intrudes" into the area, discrimination in various forms is almost inevitable. Word of this gets around, and Negroes tend to regard this area as a good place to stay out of. The best opportunity for the eradication of prejudice is denied.

12. The continued existence of the "no problem" area constitutes a real problem in human relations per se, and has lamentable side effects.

(*a*) Prejudicial and stereotyped attitudes toward other people are harmful to the person who has them, even if no target for them is present. To grow up with even an *unconscious* assumption of racial superiority is to live in an unreal world and to cripple one's spirit. This is especially true for Christians.

(*b*) Children who grow up in such a situation are being ill prepared to live in the nonsegregated world into which they will almost inevitably move in the future.

(*c*) The "no problem" area, if it becomes industrialized and nonwhite persons move in in numbers (as is not unlikely sooner or later), may find itself faced with the same kind of "problems" that now exist elsewhere, and poorly equipped to deal with them.

(*d*) Most persons now living in

such an area find it very difficult, if not impossible, to feel any sense of involvement in, or responsibility toward, the struggle for human rights going on in other parts of their state, nation, or world. For example, in states where FEPC was finally secured in the legislature, it usually came after long years of opposition or apathy on the part of those legislators whose constituency might be called "no problem" people. And yet such legislation is of crucial importance to metropolitan and industrial centers of population.

What needs to be done in such an area?

(1) The climate of public opinion, the attitude pattern, needs to be changed from apathy to concern, from mild prejudice to questioning awareness of the need for information.

In our complex society, many groups and forces influence personal attitudes and how people think and react, thus creating the prevailing social climate of a neighborhood or community. Each person is related to many groups of varying significance to him—his family, for example, a business or professional organization, a church or a political party. Most people take their cues from the groups that are nearest and most important to them. Then too, in every group there are certain persons who are the pace setters, the opinion makers who can persuade or bulldoze others to go along with their thinking.

Here members of our churches need to realize that almost everyone has an audience (small or large) that will be attentive to what he says. The opinion molders are those who have a relatively large audience that listens frequently. Newspaper editors and columnists, radio and TV commentators, and to a more limited extent ministers and teachers, compete for the attention of their publics. But the opinions of individuals are more definitively shaped by their associations in small face-to-face groups as people talk over what they read and hear, and get the reactions of the leaders and opinion makers in these groups.

Ministers and key lay persons (who are the opinion molders of the congregation) may enlarge their outlook by—

- Participation in a seminar at Washington or the United Nations, sponsored by the Department of Social Education and Action. These seminars are interracial. They deal with the hottest, most contemporary issues, and frequently provide "shock treatment."
- Participation in a regional summer leadership school, which takes people out of their own environment and enables them to associate with church people who are "in the struggle," and concerned about regional and national issues as well as those of their own home town.

After taking people outside the community, work on some encounter with challenging ideas within the community.

- Regular reading of journals of opinion like *The Reporter, Harper's Magazine, The Progressive,* for other angles on current events and issues. Most local newspapers do not give a comprehensive or balanced treatment of large and complex issues.

(2) Where there is an opportunity to challenge practices of discrimina-

tion in places of public accommodation, a person should not fail to accept that responsibility. It has been done successfully in many cases.

Some persons responsible for running restaurants, stores, theaters, automatically refuse to serve Negroes and other minorities because they wrongly assume that they will lose white clientele. Discrimination is often the unstated policy, and it may go unchallenged indefinitely. Church leaders can confront these persons with the need to take another look at what they do by—

- Bringing up the question of discrimination. One minister makes a practice of asking restaurant owners, for example, before he will be served if it is the policy here to serve Negroes. If the answer is "Yes," he will be seated and be served. If the answer is "No," he will quietly leave, explaining why he feels called upon to do so. Such a practice does not appeal to everyone, but some Christians may feel that it is the best way for *them* to make their witness.
- Entertaining a Negro guest for dinner or the theater. In many instances an appeal to the Christian conscience of the proprietor may be enough to persuade him to serve the guest courteously. If the proprietor demurs, put him in a position of refusing a person of stature in the presence of someone he respects. The Negro guest may be forewarned and will probably understand. Such experiences will probably not be new to him. If service is out of the question, host and guest should leave immediately.

(3) Children and young people, in so far as possible, need to be prepared for the integrated situations in which they are likely to find themselves eventually, and to be awakened to a sense of responsibility for making that "eventually" come sooner.

Christian parents and teachers share responsibility for this awakening. In communities where few minority persons live, it will take some imagination and contrivance to provide interracial experience. But it has been done in—

- Summer camps and conferences sponsored by synods and presbyteries where there are foreign guests, and counselors and program leaders of other racial groups.
- Exchange visits during summer vacation between white and Negro children. This has been successful in several rural areas where Negro children from the city visited white farmers and their families, worshiping with them on Sundays and getting acquainted with village life.
- Interracial experiences for Westminster Fellowship advisers, teachers, and church school administrators at the annual race relations institutes at Fisk University or the one sponsored by the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches.
- Wise and pointed preaching. Sermons that inculcate a sense of justice and interpret what God's Word implies about desegregating the church and society will support parents and teachers in their efforts.

(4) Where the opportunity exists, e.g., a teacher shortage, or a new industry coming in, work needs to be done to encourage the seeking out and bringing in of qualified nonwhite applicants for such positions. If this is successful, the task of finding housing facilities for the newcomers will need to be tackled. Names of qualified Negro teachers may be secured

through the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., and state teachers' associations. The Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y., would also suggest channels to qualified workers.

• Consultation and interviews with school and hospital administrators and employers in industry about job openings and qualified Negro personnel will be necessary to open up opportunities.

(5) Church leaders need to know the status of civil rights legislation in their state, and to build local support for its improvement—to be generally informed and concerned so that others may become so.

Here the first order of business for the churches is to get the facts about the laws of the state, to know the laws and how they are enforced. This information may be secured from the state's attorney general or the secretary of state at the state capital. State councils of churches may also have helpful knowledge of the civil rights situation in the state, and attorneys in the congregation can usefully interpret the existing laws. Possible changes in present statutes may be considered after they are compared with civil rights laws of other states. (New York State, for example, has led the nation, and a letter to its secretary of state in Albany could bring a copy of its Fair Employment and Fair Housing Acts. Vanderbilt University School of Law publishes the *Race Relations Law Reporter* six times annually. This is a complete and objective presentation of court cases, legislation, orders, and regulations. A sample copy may be ordered from the university at Nashville, Tennessee.)

"Everybody's Against Integration"

——————but most will obey the law

The focus of public attention in the type of situation to be described below is the public school. And the spectacles through which everyone looks at the public shool are colored by the Supreme Court decision that declared enforced school segregation unconstitutional. But more and more the same people are looking through the same spectacles at racial segregation in other aspects of common life.

Perhaps it would not be too dangerous a generalization to say that the people in this "everybody's against it, but . . ." situation are divided into two groups. One is very large and comprises that vast preponderance of the population who are more or less *willing* to accept whatever the law says

***should* happen. The other is very small and comprises that tiny minority who are trying to *make* happen what the law says *should* happen. What are some of the characteristics of this type of situation?**

1. It is almost always in a state that has a history of legally *enforced* segregation, which has now been rendered unconstitutional. (But not all such states fall into this category, while some border situations located in "northern" states do.)

2. Government officials of such states, at considerable political sacrifice in some instances, have publicly stated that the Supreme Court decisions will be public policy.

3. Some local movement toward desegregation (not only of the schools) has usually taken place, always against the stream of popular opinion in the white community, sometimes as a result of a court order.

4. Other local areas have *not* made any movement toward desegregation.

5. *Organized* resistance to desegregation efforts has not usually been strong, well financed, or really threatening. Such resistance as has materialized has been either private or, if organized, abortive in its efforts—though the shadow of that effort remains and dictates caution and careful planning.

6. Residential patterns vary from segregated to mixed, but housing available to Negroes is usually limited to that which has been "abandoned" by the white market.

7. Public accommodations may or may not discriminate, varying with local conditions. Where discrimination has been done away with, it has been the result of well-planned efforts, not of matter-of-course changes in the private attitudes of large numbers of people.

8. There is often at least a statewide organization concerned about intergroup relations. It may have local counterparts. State and local groups will probably be understaffed, if staffed at all. They will usually be headquartered and act most effectively in larger cities.

9. An occasional white church will have a racially inclusive membership, with two or three Negro families at most participating.

10. Most state-supported colleges, and many private or denominational schools, have open admissions policies and practices.

11. In some of the school districts that have desegregated, Negro teachers have lost jobs, as faculty integration did not take place. This is by no means the rule, however.

In many respects, the "everybody's against it, but . . ." situations are the most ambiguous, delicate, and subtly differentiated of the six types. The immediate problem in most of these situations is not to determine everything that *remains* to be done, but to gauge carefully what *can* be done next. This requires a high degree of realism wedded to passionate persistence and dedication. Indicated below are *some* of the things that *may be* immediately possible in this kind of situation.

(1) The creation of a climate of public opinion that recognizes (at least publicly) the basic rightness of justice and equality of opportunity, is perhaps the most urgent need.

This does not solve the problems of a situation that has been until recently segregated in most aspects of its living and thinking, but it does give "more room to move." Such a transformation will not take place overnight, but it *can* take place, and the devising of strategy for it should be high on the priority list. Generally speaking, *the key to this change* in public climate can be found in the "opinion molders" of the community—ministers, newspapermen, business people, radio and TV public-affairs executives, public-school administrators, labor union staffs or officers.

In the preceding section we looked at the influence of the relatively small group of power figures who may actually "run" community affairs. Churches, ministerial associations, and councils of churches could have a significant influence on such persons by—

- Taking a firm stand and making their position known through pastoral letters to church members.
- Interpreting publicly through the church and secular press their position and the authority on which they take their stand. The fact that churches derive their authority from the Bible, and not from the prevailing local traditions or customs, ought to be carefully interpreted also.

Some ministers have served in important priestly roles in counseling privately with public officials and business leaders prominent in political life. They have discovered that these men may find it necessary to say one thing in public while privately believing something quite different. Public servants are subject to great pressure to conform to local views and to resist desegregation. They may have great need to talk about the conflict between their self-interests and their public responsibility to keep the peace and uphold the law, what they believe and what powerful local groups expect them to do. In fulfilling such a pastoral role, the minister must have—

- A willingness to listen without forming premature moral judgments. Only then will he gain a full understanding of the situation and issue at stake.
- Some knowledge of the power structure of the community, i.e., who really makes the public policy decisions that govern the community.
- Full understanding of the most effective counseling methods.
- Some experience and competence in social action so that his counsel will be trusted.
- Full awareness of his own involvement in an evil situation. The minister in such a relationship must see himself as a sinner, standing also in need of forgiveness and grace—not as a self-righteous saint to hear the other fellow's confession.
- Grounding in Biblical authority for his concern for the common good.

(2) Opportunities may be sought or created for interracial co-operation and fellowship between white and Negro churches in community-wide religious affairs, youth activities, or public services.

This agenda item has been considered in earlier sections. See pages 7-8, 9, and 12.

(3) Some churches may find it possible to seek members of "the other race" to unite with the church,

or attend its Sunday school, or lend their leadership assistance on a temporary basis (which could become permanent).

In several communities Negro and white churches have joined forces to provide some needed service for children of the parish and community. After approval of local church boards, mothers of both racial groups have worked together to provide—

- Day-care services for children of working mothers.
- Daily vacation church school.
- Summer day camp or church-sponsored recreation. These programs are frequently housed in one of the participating churches.

Councils of churches have conducted religious preference surveys in suburbs or inner-city areas to reach the unchurched. It may be practical in some communities for teams of Negro and white seminary students to conduct such studies. See *Evangelism Without Limits*, available for two cents from Presbyterian Distribution Service, and SOCIAL PROGRESS, Jan., 1955 ("Segregation on Sunday?"), available at fifteen cents from Presbyterian Distribution Service.

When Negro Christians unite with white congregations or co-operate with white Christians on a temporary project, Negro as well as white ministers need to see the ultimate goal of inclusive fellowship which all churches are enjoined to seek. White and Negro ministers have sometimes acted as though some form of "sheep-stealing" were taking place. White ministers have frequently stated that they do not want to take Negro Presbyterians away from the churches where their leadership and support are needed. This may be a rationalization and an easy way to avoid accepting Negro members. Or it may be an honest recognition of the fears of their Negro colleagues. A few Negro ministers have resented the loss of members, and in this transition period Negro congregations may face some losses. But within our Presbyterian polity, presbytery should act to undergird both Negro and white churches that may lose members. Churches should not be hindered by fear of their loss from doing what they believe is the will of God.

(4) Where public accommodations still discriminate (by refusing service or by segregating customers), careful negotiation can sometimes bring about a change in policy.

The suggestions on pages 11, 17-18 may also apply here.

(5) Sometimes an employer can be found who is willing and able to pioneer in the hiring of qualified Negroes for positions that have been previously closed to them.

Churches can encourage such pioneering by—

- Pastoral counseling with one or two influential businessmen, or with executives of a new firm moving into the area. Ministers need to have some understanding of why businessmen hesitate to hire Negroes, and how problems of integration have been handled in companies that have adopted fair employment policies.

Reprints are available of an article published by the Jan.-Feb., 1957, *Harvard Business Review*, entitled "American Negroes—a Wasted Resource," by J. J. Morrow, Director

of Personnel Relations for Pitney-Bowes, Inc. Here a businessman frankly presents, not ideological issues, but "the proposition that industry should hire more Negroes in terms of pure economics." Mr. Morrow is concerned about the great dollars-and-cents loss that the American economy incurs by failing to develop the full productive skills and consumer capacities of Negroes.

He also analyzes the objections and fears of management, and reports the startling successes of several American firms in desegregating their plants and offices. The article is well written and persuasive. Many businessmen would read it with interest. (Write Community Relations Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y., for copies, fifteen cents each, 100 for $12.50.)

(6) Once the school segregation barrier has been broken, there may be other community activities, previously segregated in fact, that can be opened up by wise and careful leadership, e.g., hospitals, Boy Scouts, P.T.A., public libraries, recreation facilities, service clubs.

This may well involve the problem of encouraging minority groups to utilize a facility once it is open, and this can be done only by involving minority persons of trust and prestige in the planning of such a move from the very beginning.

Some of these community facilities remain "closed" because everyone has assumed that they are. In some communities the walls would tumble rather quickly. Here are some wall-tumbling techniques that have been used:

• Negro and white people work together from the very beginning. The group should be small and work *quietly*. The Negro persons must be persons who are trusted and respected by Negro groups, not merely one or two Negroes that some white people may know and assume to be leaders and spokesmen "for their race."

• Careful thought is given as to where to begin. In most places it is well to knock at the door that will open most easily. In some communities libraries will be the easiest; in others, it will be the parks or playgrounds.

• White people can raise questions: "Why aren't Negroes admitted to semiprivate and private rooms of hospitals?" "Why can't Negro children come to the children's reading room?" "Why aren't Negro parents doing their part in P.T.A.?" Honest answers to these questions may point up great discrepancies in community services and the fact that not all Negroes are "happier by themselves."

• White social workers and civic leaders can raise questions about agency policies and services in boards of social agencies and health and welfare councils, and encourage experimentation with new practices.

• Where libraries, playgrounds, and the like are "open" for the first time, the Negro community may need guidance and counsel as to its responsibility to use them. Usually this is accomplished primarily by Negro leaders. In some instances a white person may casually accompany a Negro using the reading room of the public library or playground, or to a P.T.A. meeting.

The building up of trust, friendship, and understanding among the leaders of the two races is an

immediate goal of great importance.

(7) The raising of the aspirations and sense of responsibility of many Negro young people in terms of what they desire and can expect out of life by way of education, employment, and life situation, is a big and important job.

Negro leadership can do much in this respect by pointing out and interpreting new opportunities, and the lifting of the ceilings on personal growth. But white leadership must see that doors continue to open and ceilings continue to rise.

"Things Look Pretty Hopeless"

_____ but we can move behind the scenes

The characterization of these types of "pretty hopeless, but . . ." situations is, as with the previous ones, from the point of view of those who see desegregation as a positive goal of society and church. The phrase, in fact, came from a behind-the-scenes meeting of persons—Christians and non-Christians—who were trying to devise wise strategy for desegregation. (With reference to "behind the scenes," one of the strategists added, "It's getting pretty crowded back here.")

On the surface there is a great deal of similarity among the many situations that can be thought of as being in this "looks hopeless, but . . ." category. But the subtle differences beneath the surface, the variety in the social forces at work, are great. The general characteristics listed below are neither definitive nor exhaustive nor uniformly applicable.

1. Segregation has been historically regarded as a *vital* aspect of the area's "way of life," has been enforced by law, and has been publicly defended as morally right. It is still so regarded with great sincerity by the vast majority of white people, including some white ministers and many white Christian laymen. However, a growing number of white Christians seriously question the moral and religious defensibility of enforced segregation.

2. The public attitude of state political officials toward compliance with Supreme Court decisions on segregation either is weak and equivocal or is in strong and massive opposition to desegregation.

3. The state legislature has passed various package laws designed to circumvent the Supreme Court decisions, to curtail the operation of the NAACP, and in some cases to proscribe interracial activity of all kinds.

4. Organized resistance to desegregation by private groups may be powerful, well financed, and effective. White Citizens Councils may be organized and ready to carry on various forms of resistance to court rulings.

5. Economic and social reprisals may be visited upon individuals who are identified as prointegrationists.

6. Violence to persons and property, and threats of violence, are uncommon but by no means unique.

7. While racial segregation is publicly defended in principle as well as practice, the vast majority of white citizens sincerely deplore the use of violence, and many also deplore the use of economic reprisal.

8. Genuine communication between the races takes place, if at all, only behind the scenes and on a very small scale. Joint, public planning and discussion of mutual problems is exceedingly rare.

9. Where local efforts to desegregate some areas of life (buses, for example) have been successful, this has usually been possible only because no publicity attended the effort, and solid public opposition was not thereby aroused.

10. Voluntary, official, public movement toward desegregation of schools is highly improbable and in many communities impossible at the present time. For example, in this type of situation, the only school desegregation that has taken place (with very rare exceptions) has been under Federal court order or the threat of a court order.

11. The Negro population in such areas is not necessarily large (it may be as small as 5–20 per cent of the total), but it may be composed mostly of poorly educated, economically and culturally deprived persons who have not been required till now to assume responsibility. There is also usually a similar white minority that corresponds in most respects except skin color to this Negro minority. This white minority, while not highly respected by the "better" people, is not publicly segregated and discriminated against in the same way.

12. There is likely to be at least one state agency (frequently called "the [state] Council on Human Relations") concerned with race relations as such. It may have local organizations in larger cities. The state-wide council will be interracial and will probably have a paid, full-time staff (who will be overworked).

13. There will be a state NAACP and numerous local branches that will be seriously harassed in direct proportion to the persistence and vigor with which they press for compliance with the Supreme Court decisions.

14. Much of the maneuvering that takes place with the goal in mind of desegregating public facilities (such as schools, buses, libraries, playgrounds) involves court action or the threat of it, and the burden of initiative for this maneuvering has rested almost exclusively on the Negro leadership.

15. The role of the local white church in this kind of situation may be limited by external and internal circumstances to an almost exclusively *vocal* role played by the minister. Courageous and wise ministers acting singly may preach pointedly on brotherhood and get away with it (some have not got away with it).

They may be able to meet with certain of their adult members and study the problems of race. Unusually sensitive laymen, acting as individuals, have been able to participate in the struggle—usually at considerable cost. Ministerial associations, presbyteries, and synods have made excellent public statements of Christian conviction relative to race problems. But by and large the local *white* church *as a corporate body* cannot now identify itself with "the struggle" and hold together. (It must be recognized that, until now, this corporate identification by a white church has not been attempted.)

16. There is usually a great deal of misinformation and a dearth of real information about the facts, events, and forces relevant to the racial situation generally and the local situation particularly.

Obviously in this type of situation the problem again is to determine what is possible in the near future, not what is ultimately ideal. Probably no situation will find *all* the following possible, but it is likely that every situation will find one or more of them possible.

(1) There is urgent need for a growing core of Christians in the local church not only to be sensitive to the racial issue, but to know what the facts are and to interpret these facts as *Christians* to themselves and to their fellow Christians with the help of the Bible, the church's witness, and the Holy Spirit.

Such earnest searching for the facts and deeper understanding of the tragedy of the present situation can only be undertaken in the context of prayer and recognition of God's judgment and grace. This Christian "core" can be nurtured through—

- Public worship, as local congregations confess their sins and see themselves as part of the crisis in human rights, and attempt to respond in faithfulness to the will of God. Some ministers may be able to interpret the present crisis in relevant preaching.
- Bible study that is not the usual lecture, but a penetrating discussion by small groups of Christians trying to discern the signs of the times and what God is doing to fulfill his purposes.
- Women's circle studies and youth meetings dealing with "Christ, the Church, and Race," a 1957–1958 mission study theme.

In most discussions of race relations, someone will be sure to express the fear that integration in the churches will result in intermarriage of the races. A Southern theologian has given a very helpful answer in *The Presbyterian Outlook:*

"Often the results of obedience to God's Word seem to be contrary to what we believe ought to be. God told Abraham to offer Isaac, his son, as burnt offering. The consequences of obedience to this divine injunction surely seemed to Abraham to be the very opposite of what God intended to bring to pass. Yet Abraham was willing to obey, and to leave to God the settlement of the problems which might arise from his obedience. On the issue of segregation today, God is challenging Abraham's spiritual seed to act in accordance with the best light which they have from his Word, and to leave the results of their action completely to him. If we do what God has re-

vealed in his Word to be right, God himself will always see that the final outcome is right also." (From "Racial Segregation in the Church," by Ben Lacy Rose, in *The Presbyterian Outlook*, June 24, 1957.)

(2) There is urgent need for lines of communication to be established between Christians of both races so that they may come to know each other in Christ rather than in a dark or a light skin. Such knowledge is for all practical purposes impossible on a master-servant or employer-employee basis.

Communication is crucial in areas of tension or potential tension. No significant change can come without it. Yet one of the deep tragedies in Christendom is the chasm between Negro and white ministers, not to mention the gulf between their congregations. Sumpter Logan's experience in Sturgis, Kentucky, illustrates this lack of communication. In an effort to encourage people of good will and the forces of justice and law, he went first to the white ministers. Not one was able or willing to admit that he had any contact with the Negro ministers. In the community's greatest crisis people could not even talk to one another.

On the plus side, one synod social education and action chairman recently initiated a twenty-four-hour retreat in which six white ministers and six Negro ministers sat down to talk about their hopes, dreams, frustrations, fears. They met in a quiet mountain lodge, away from the usual pressures. There was no agenda, just unhurried, frank, and prayerful probing of the situations each faced. All found it a uniquely satisfying experience which they plan to repeat.

To open lines of communication between Negro and white Christians and keep them open, it is important—

- To put aside all false notions that communication will come by "doing what comes naturally." In most instances white ministers or lay persons must take the initiative, deliberately, purposefully seeking the friendship of Negro persons, although this may have to be done secretly to protect all concerned from reprisals.
- To admit differences, instead of denying them. Psychiatrists have observed various stages of attitude change. At one stage there is a strong tendency among white people to ignore the traditional psychological and social conditions in which most American Negroes have been forced to live. Honest and constructive acceptance of differences between individuals is an important step in understanding and something quite unlike the use of differences to justify inferior treatment. At another stage white people may adopt the "mascot" attitude to Negroes, taking great pride about inviting a Negro to their homes, or asking a Negro to sing or entertain at a social gathering.
- To recognize the crucial importance of group relationships. In an earlier section we discussed how group associations influence the development of social attitudes. In the study *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation*, a group of psychiatrists have found that there is a close connection for individuals and for groups between their response to desegregation and their characteristic attitudes and reactions to au-

thority in general. The study suggests that everyone is subject to control and regulation by multiple authorities in a successively widening radius from himself, beginning with home and extending to those who exert immediate power over his daily life, such as the "boss," and beyond to the local and the state officials, and thence to the more distant Federal Government.

"The . . . [Negro or white person in the "looks hopeless" situation] is caught up in an open conflict between two types of authority: the authority of local and state laws, and the highest governmental authority. He is faced with the choice of which to obey or defy by his stand on desegregation.

"Those who reach beyond the values of the dominant group in the local community to accept the values of the region or of the nation usually have a higher education and a wider interest in regional and national affairs than their fellow citizens whose attachments are more local. In addition, such persons must also derive some support from a group of like-minded people inside the community. . . . The members of this smaller group are fortified by the support which they give each other as well as by their adherence to what they believe to be the goals and ideals of the larger group, such as the region or the nation. The attachment to these larger goals and ideals in the abstract without some support from people close at hand is rarely enough to sustain a heresy against the doctrines of the dominant local group. It seems to be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for most individuals to take sides on an issue against the overwhelming majority of the local community unless they have some direct personal support from at least one or more members of the local community." (From *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation,* a report by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y., 1957, $1.00. Used by permission.)

(3) There is urgent need for rapport and trust between white and Negro leadership. For the most part, the white leadership has little to say and much to learn in this relationship, at least in its early stages. The likelihood is that Negro leaders already know a great deal more about the white community (though not enough) than white leaders know about the Negro community.

Numerous candid conversations between white staff persons and Negro ministers add up to something like this: In the average presbytery there may be a happy surface camaraderie, but few Negro presbyters have a chance for the full fellowship that should be the genius of Presbyterian polity. Sometimes they are elected to the office of moderator. They are often called upon to lead in prayer. Rarely are they part of the power structure that devises presbytery strategy and makes the important decisions about ecclesiastical business.

Then, too, most white people—Christians and non-Christians in any section of the country—have removed themselves so far from the struggles of Negro people that they have little insight or knowledge of what goes on. So it is not surprising that in some places (Montgomery, Tuskegee, and others) Negro people have sized up the situation and con-

cluded that it was necessary to take the struggle into their own hands.

Here again we suggest that there is no substitute for association and recognition by both white and Negro Christians that they need each other. Mutuality and trust may be patiently developed by the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and by reciprocal efforts to understand more fully what is really happening in both the white and Negro communities, and what the churches can do to mobilize constructive forces of social change. To work toward these goals Negro and white leaders will need—

• Training in group leadership, both to avoid the destructive results of fanatical leadership that snowballed in Clinton, Tennessee, for example, and to work for the constructive, democratically planned interaction that characterized the orderly change to desegregation in Louisville, Kentucky.

• Intensive study of the forces that "make a community tick." Much more astute knowledge of the power blocs that run the average community is essential in church bodies. A most revealing and objective study, *Community Power Structure*, by Floyd Hunter (University of North Carolina Press, 1953, $5.00), is invaluable. An experienced sociologist analyzes a Southern city and its social, economic, and political forces.

• Opportunities to meet outside their own community to see their situation with a new perspective and objectivity.

(4) Very few white persons have any real knowledge or understanding of the NAACP—its program, its policies, its *modus operandi*. (This is true in all six types of situation, but it is of crucial importance here.) If possible, this ignorance of what is really going on should be dispelled by first-hand experience.

The American atmosphere is charged with rumors and assumptions about the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In all fairness these allegations need to be checked with the stated views of the church at large and with the organization in question. One source of information (nonobjective, to be sure) is the national headquarters office of NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y. Upon request NAACP will be glad to send in plain wrapper full information about its purposes, program, methods of work, and lists of staff and board members. Points to keep in mind:

• Any indictment of NAACP must also include many Presbyterian ministers (white and Negro) who are members. A number of Negro ministers and laymen in the South are active in it at considerable personal risk. Some of them have suffered some economic reprisals. It would be revealing for white ministers to get their Negro colleagues' views.

• While the present attack is centered on the NAACP and threatens the civil liberties of its members (such as right of assembly and freedom of speech), similar threats are being directed against labor unions, the Urban League, community chests, the Anti-Defamation League, and others. Churches that challenge injustice could be next. Presbyterians who value our ancient tradition of freedom will see the current danger in its larger dimension.

(5) White Christian leaders can sometimes quietly associate themselves with an existing organization concerned about race relations (the "Council on Human Relations") where such a group exists. Where it does not exist there is usually need for such a group to be formed.

The number of concerned but isolated persons of good will who in their isolation don't know what to do with their concern is probably greater than surface evidence indicates in the "hopeless" situation.

If church leaders do not know about the existence of such groups, information may be obtained by writing the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Ga. The Council may be able to suggest other groups concerned about civil rights as, for example, names and addresses of educational leaders, local or regional branches of the League of Women Voters, or the Anti-Defamation League.

(6) Where possible, church sessions need to face squarely—with facts at their disposal, and without pressure—their church and community situation to be led by the Holy Spirit to discover the strategy of obedience in that situation.

In the regular program of the Church Officer Training sessions there will be study of the nature of the church. The social responsibilities of Christians are implicit in the study materials but will have to be spelled out in explicit terms in each community and church.

To understand more fully "the strategy of obedience" and the prophetic role of the church in society, church sessions may profit by reading and discussing *Christian Social Ethics*, by Albert T. Rasmussen. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956. $4.00.

(7) Individual Christians who are economically secure, emotionally stable, socially sensitive, intellectually mature, and spiritually devout (there *are* such people) may have laid before them the question of whether they might elect to challenge, *as Christians*, some of the laws that are directed at crippling the NAACP, preserving segregation, and proscribing interracial association.

Such laws as *have* been struck down in the courts, have been because some individual took it upon himself to test them. These individuals have been, almost without exception, Negro Christians and, to a much smaller degree, white humanists who lacked some of the qualities listed above.

Churchmen should know that new laws against barratry have been passed in some states for the express purpose of stopping the NAACP from giving legal assistance in cases where the organization is not directly involved. Legal opinion is divided on the legality of these measures. A test case is needed to settle the question. AFL-CIO lawyers are concerned over further violations of civil liberties that may be involved in enforcing these laws. If a Christian churchman should consider challenging these laws, regional or national labor leadership would probably be an interested "friend in court."

(8) Christians who for good reason do not feel that it is possible or feasible for them to participate personally in the struggle can at least give moral and other support to those who do.

Moral support in the Christian community can take many forms and is limited only by human imagination and insight. We suggest only a few:

• Funds for scholarships. Synod and presbytery SEA committees urgently need money to send delegates to race institutes, Washington seminars, synod and regional summer leadership schools. Checks from churches or individual members would be deeply appreciated.

• Collection of data. One elderly retired teacher regularly clips all the news and editorials from "outside" newspapers and makes clippings available to the people "in the front lines."

• "Word of mouth" interpretation. Persons who are "in the struggle" are usually not in a position to talk about their activities, or even to discuss the issues openly. But the people who are supporting them may be able to discuss the issues and point out why they concern the church.

• Prayer groups. In the fellowship of prayer two or three persons may meet regularly to pray for those who suffer injustice or who labor for the rights of others.

"Nothing Changes Here"

_____ and it had better not start

For the person, white or Negro, who believes that enforced racial segregation does almost irreparable damage to human beings, the "nothing changes" situation is perhaps the most painful and frustrating one to endure. This is because so little can be done *now* to change the external circumstances. Most of the limiting characteristics of the "looks hopeless, but . . ." situation apply here, only with greater rigidity and intensity. In addition, many of the following may be found:

1. The Negro population is relatively high—varying from 30 per cent to 80 per cent of the total population, county by county.

2. A relatively small proportion of the adult Negro population are registered voters, and still fewer vote—in some places as few as one out of a hundred potential voters actually cast their ballot.

3. The area is usually economically depressed, with very little industry present and poverty commonplace.

4. All social, economic, and political forces are monolithically and publicly adamant in their opposition to any kind of desegregation or activity that implicitly suggests that desegregation can take place in the foreseeable future.

5. Any local voice or action that

questions the continuation of segregation is likely to bring upon itself immediate and massive social and economic retaliation. If that voice belongs to a Negro, the retaliation may take the form of physical violence. If violence occurs, there is little chance that those who committed it will be caught and convicted.

6. At the same time, within the pattern of segregation, personal relationships of affection and paternalistic concern between whites and Negroes are common, but not so common as they used to be. Anything that tends to threaten the pattern of segregation upsets this relationship, and is widely regarded as agitation by radicals.

7. Terms like "integration" are widely regarded as synonymous with "intermarriage," which is synonymous with "mongrelization." Hence, reactions to such words tend to be so violent that they make already existing barriers almost insurmountable and prevent objective discussion of the issue even in small, private groups.

8. A system of "secret police" employed by the state government may exist. Supplemented by private "informers," this system, if it operates in a given locality, effectively eliminates most of the space "behind the scenes" where movement and planning could take place. (Hence the phrase "nothing changes.")

9. A few white Christian leaders have used certain passages of Scripture, along with arguments from the world of nature, to "prove" that segregation is a part of God's plan for his creation. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of their convictions, which also condemn violence and most other forms of coercive reprisal. By no means all Christian leaders, perhaps not even a majority, share these convictions about "God's plan" for segregation, though it is probably safe to say that the vast majority of *white* Christians do.

10. Many thoughtful Christians of both races are tragically caught between their religious convictions as to the wrongness of segregation, on the one hand, and their awareness of the social upheaval that would take place if it were immediately ended, on the other. Other people, intellectually convinced that segregation must end, but emotionally unable to accept this possibility, exist in an agonizing state of "suspended animation."

It is obviously unrealistic to talk about any immediate general change in the pattern of segregation for such a situation. Other more elementary problems of simple justice are more urgent, though the ultimate goal must always be kept in mind, for example, the securing of fair treatment in the courts for Negroes and the obtaining of the *de facto* right to vote. Even these sometimes seem like insuperable problems if their solution must come from the inside of the situation. Some observers, striving to be objective, believe that any significant changes in circumstance in the "nothing changes" area must wait for substantial changes to take place *outside* that area, thus making the contrast in situation so glaring that the climate can change. That is to say, when the political and economic leaders of such an area can see (as some already do) that history is passing them by, some of the built-in

pressures to maintain the *status quo* may be eased.

Meanwhile, such work as can now be done from inside will probably have to be done "underground" (as over against "behind the scenes"). Not many Christians have the stomach for this kind of activity, and those who do already have greater insight into their immediate situation and its possibilities than can be put in writing here. The following, therefore, are general suggestions that may be adopted or discarded, as they see fit, by Christians who ask themselves repeatedly and ironically, "What can you do when nothing can be done?"

(1) The maintaining of perspective is important. The immediate situation is not the total landscape, and the local climate is not the only source of data on which to base a "weather forecast" for the next ten years. Christian leaders whose daily experience is pain and frustration need to withdraw from their situation from time to time, to learn that others share their burden and may view it from a different and more hopeful perspective.

Perspective can be gained *within* the situation—

- By the long view. God is at work in human history. He is working out his purposes. Our efforts may seem to be fruitless, but God's are not.
- By the larger view. Our domestic struggles and hopes must be seen as a part of the world-wide struggle for justice and human dignity. Slowly and inevitably world opinion is being mobilized against all forms of tyranny and injustice. Here the local church's efforts to interpret the United Nations, to study the foundations of peace and the makings of foreign policy, may put new light on local situations. (Note we said "*may*.")
- By sessions of prayer, as individuals and small groups of Christians (perhaps only two or three) gathered in His name seek God's grace and open their minds and spirits to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.
- By friendship with fellow Christians in other areas nurtured by letters and occasional phone calls. Perspective can be gained also by actual withdrawal, and getting out of the storm center for a little while. Ministers should make every effort to get away, to attend seminars, conferences, summer schools, and also the General Assembly, even though this may mean footing the bill personally. They should not hesitate to ask about scholarship funds that may be available. Association with kindred spirits in the larger fellowship may be the only way to keep alive and swimming against the local current.

There is a kind of rhythm in the Christian life, with a time for aggressive action and attack and a time for withdrawal and regrouping of spiritual forces. This every Christian needs to know.

(2) The reading diet is important. Parochial newspapers and "run-of-the-mill" periodicals are not calculated to stretch the reader's awareness or enlarge his horizons. Subscriptions to a cosmopolitan paper and to two or three "off the beaten track" periodicals are worth-while investments.

Highly recommended for personal reading are:

- *The New York Times.* Subscription to the Sunday edition gives an invaluable summary of the week's news and editorial comment, book

reviews, and magazine sections of unusual interest. Daily subscription rate: $13.50; Sunday, $15.50; daily and Sunday, $27.50. Address subscription inquiries to Subscription Department, The New York Times, New York 36, N.Y.

• *The Petal Paper,* P. D. East, publisher and editor. A yeasty and thoroughly amazing weekly newspaper published in Petal, Mississippi, and full of clement satire and editorial comment about the Mississippi "way of life," including a shrewd and liberal appraisal of politics, both state and national. Subscription rate: $3.00 per year.

• *The Reporter.* A fortnightly journal with a critical slant and extremely high readability. Analysis of the major issues in our public life gives the reader facts and a point of view not found in any other American periodical. Major articles will be clipped to enrich every minister's preaching material. Subscription rates: $5.00 per year, the Reporter Magazine Company, 136 East 57th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

• *Harper's Magazine* (monthly). Readers who have the *Harper's* habit seldom get over it. From the Editor's Easy Chair to the latest reviews of the new recordings, *Harper's* illumines trends, issues, and public policies. Subscription rate: $6.00 per year, Subscription Department, 49 East 33d Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Even the smallest and least affluent of churches needs a library, and these publications should be included in it, along with SOCIAL PROGRESS and *The Christian Century.* Library hours when books and magazines may be borrowed and returned can be scheduled before and after Sunday worship. Larger churches may have a reading room in the parish house open to church members and the community.

(3) The concerned Christian leader cannot know too many *facts* about race relations. He should be acquainted widely, not only with current developments, but with basic data about the nature of racial prejudice, experiences of interracial activity, the Scriptural "arguments," and the like. The amount and extent of specious thinking and misinformation even among otherwise intelligent and well-informed people is phenomenal. "Everyone thinks he is an expert in race relations."

Facts by themselves will not carry the day, but sooner or later there come opportune moments when a well-documented fact, presented in good will by a trusted leader, can change the whole atmosphere of a conversation or a discussion. Keep in mind earlier sections dealing with attitude change and relationships in small face-to-face groups.

Books and pamphlets showing the psychological angles of prejudice and fear of desegregation will give some fresh viewpoints. The following are based on significant research in the North and South, and cover a lot of technical ground in a readable, nontechnical way:

• *Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation,* a report by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957. 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. $1.00. A team of distinguished psychiatrists have studied the problem as it affects children, parents, teachers, and school administrators. They explain how irrational fears and forces may be understood and dealt with, how

attitudes are changed, and what to look for and avoid during the "transitional phase." Although the report has been written particularly for persons who have professional responsibility for carrying out the Supreme Court's decision—educators, counselors, social workers, and school administrators—it is important reading for ministers and Christian educators.

• *Prejudice and Your Child*, by Kenneth B. Clark. The Beacon Press, Inc., 1955. $2.50. A book about the ways in which children learn about race, the destructive effects of prejudice on white and Negro children, and some specific suggestions for churches, schools, and social agencies in working for integration.

• *An American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal. Harper & Brothers. $6.50. The great Swedish social scientist has prepared what many consider to be the most complete and objective study of race relations in the United States made to date.

The current experiences in race conflict and desegregation are the subject of many studies which have value to church leaders.

(4) It will be helpful to bear in mind that the public posture assumed by many prosegregationists is frequently at variance with their private knowledge of what the future holds. Private and off-the-record conversations have revealed that some political figures, who believe that they are forced by their constituents to be vociferous defenders of the *status quo*, are actually looking desperately for some way to move out from their present position without committing political suicide.

In earlier sections we have commented on the importance of the minister's priestly role as counselor and friend of the powerful people whose decisions count. Of course such relationships between ministers and community leaders take time to nurture. They can grow only out of the minister's

• Willingness to listen and learn.

• Avoidance of every temptation to moralize and pontificate.

• Knowledge and understanding of the issues and the way in which crucial policy decisions are made.

• Sense of timing and sensitivity as to when and where to offer counsel.

• Ability to see intermediate steps (also related to "timing") without losing sight of the goal of integration and fellowship.

Essential also for ministers and laymen is an empathy with the people who have the decisions to make, as well as with the people affected by the decisions.

The *theological* perspective of the Christian is perhaps his most important possession. It is not his business to commit himself, for more than a day at a time, to either martyrdom or the continuing compromise of silence. It is his business to ask, "What does God require of me by way of obedience today under these particular circumstances?" and then to pray for guidance and courage to obey, and for forgiveness for his failure, knowing by faith that the Creator, Ruler, Judge, and Redeemer of us all will bring even this situation to good issue in his own good time.

PRONOUNCEMENTS ON RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court, ruling that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional—with humility because action by our highest court was necessary to make effective that for which our church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity.

I. Implementing the Supreme Court Decision

We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court's decision.

We call upon the members of our churches to co-operate with civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, and community councils as effective means for the accomplishment of racial integration in the public-school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character, insisting that teachers as well as pupils be accorded full opportunity within the school system on the basis of interest, ability, and merit, without reference to race.

II. Responsibilities of the Church

We commend our church for its continued efforts to make the law of Christ relative to all areas of the church's life. We particularly commend the increasing number of local churches which have become racially and/or culturally integrated and have learned the joy of full Christian fellowship.

The Supreme Court's decision, when considered with the repeated pronouncements of our General Assembly, as contrasted with the practices of our church at many points, makes it imperative that we now make these pronouncements effective in the following areas:

Particular Congregations

It has been too frequently the practice of churches caught in the population movements that change the racial or cultural characteristics of the area to seek more "desirable" locations in order to escape their Christian responsibility toward their community. It becomes ever more clear that sessions, ministers, and church members should make it their Christian concern to communicate the claim of Christ to every person within reach of their church.

Local churches should do more than merely announce to the community a policy of open membership regardless of racial or cultural background. A mere statement by the session of a church may all too easily lead only to complacency and self-satisfaction.

Our churches will be fulfilling their duty to evangelize all people only when they sincerely and personally offer church membership to all persons living within the communities served by them. We call upon all Christians to *work* for, not *wait* for, a church and a society which rise above racial restrictions.

Sessions and ministers particularly should take the initiative in preparing the hearts and minds of people for full fellowship in Christ through preaching, pastoral work, and through all educational channels in the church and community.

Church-related Colleges and Seminaries

The Supreme Court decision now renders irrelevant certain state laws that prohibited or seemed to prohibit integration of the student bodies and faculties of Presbyterian colleges.

We therefore urge that where policies now exist that prohibit the admission of students because of race, action be taken immediately to abolish these policies. Where policies permit the admission of all qualified students, we urge such action as will carry these policies into effect. We further recommend that in the procurement of faculty members colleges and seminaries comply with the spirit implicit in these pronouncements.

Church-related Institutions

We urge governing boards of church-related institutions to re-examine policies and practices of admission, residence, and employment and where necessary to readjust them so as to comply with the spirit of our church's position.

—1954

As Christians we hold that all forms of racial discrimination and segregation are denials of human worth and are contrary to the will of God.

We call for the launching of "operation desegregation" in our churches and church-related institutions and in the communities in which our churches work and serve:

I. The action of the Supreme Court of the United States with reference to racial segregation in public schools points up the failure of the church to achieve true fellowship within its own life. The church must act now to abolish from its practices all forms of segregation. We note progress already achieved on this front, but we must continue to work earnestly for desegregation with respect to

—local churches, presbyteries, synods;

—boards and agencies of the church, at all levels—professional as well as clerical staff, and in the distribution of funds;

—local church organizations and activities, sessions, church boards, employed staff, and volunteer leadership;

—church-controlled and church-related hospitals, homes for the aged, children's homes, and other institutions, both as to occupants and staff;

—all missionary enterprises;

—church-related schools, colleges, and seminaries, as to student bodies, faculties, and boards of trustees.

II. We call upon the members of our churches

—to work for desegregation in the businesses, professions, and unions to which they belong, and to urge the passage of Fair Employment Practice laws with enforcement provisions in states in which legislation of this type is not already in effect;

—to work for desegregation in housing in their communities, private as well as public housing, and to refrain from entering into arrangements or covenants that tend to encourage segregation;

—to encourage and support all measures for facilitating the desegregation of public schools, both as to students and faculties;

—to seek the election or appointment of qualified representatives of Negro and other minority groups to public positions.

—1955

Noting that there are serious racial problems to be faced in all sections of our country;

Observing that the problems confronting Christians in the South, the region affected most deeply and directly by the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in public schools and other public services, are generally quite different from the problems confronting Christians in most other areas of the nation;

Realizing that the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. is not a sectional but a national body with members and churches in every one of the 48 states,

The 168th General Assembly

Addresses itself selectively to our churches and members throughout the nation with respect to the Christian responsibility that the Word of God and the mind of the church lays upon them, in facing the critical problems of race relations.

"No Problem"?

Realizing (1) that nowhere in our land can Negroes, and to a lesser extent other minority persons, escape the indignity of segregation or discrimination in one form or another, and (2) that the community or church that feels it has no problem because there is no present crisis may have an especially difficult problem;

Recognizing that though an increasing number of churches are actually seeking to bring all persons in their neighborhoods into membership without distinction as to race or social status, nevertheless, many churches, while morally supporting integration, are failing to implement their stand in terms of positive evangelistic effort, and some churches appear actually to be opposing integration,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins ministers and members of our churches

1. To stop talking about having "no problem" in situations where tension does not exist and the problem is therefore concealed,

2. To stop being content with a mere confession of guilt apart from deeds of repentance,

3. To stop pointing the finger of accusation at areas of high tension or conflict,

4. To begin serious, prayerful study where there is no present tension,

5. To bring about in small groups encounters and frank conversations with minority persons of comparable education and experience, and specialists in the field of human relations,

6. To welcome people of all races in the life and work of their churches,

7. To evangelize in the homes of nearby residents without regard to race in order to bring them into the fellowship of the church.

Residential Segregation

Emphasizing that it is the policy and purpose of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to work for a nonsegregated society as well as a nonsegregated church;

Noting (1) that in many sections of our country real progress has been made in eliminating segregation in such fields as employment, transportation, hotel and restaurant accommodations, education, and other public services; (2) that in these same sections residential segregation usually continues to be a major problem; (3) that where residential desegregation has occurred it has nearly always been in older housing areas that tend to change from segregated white to segregated nonwhite because of the flight of white residents; and (4) that in most communities practically no new homes have been made available to nonwhite families,

The 168th General Assembly

Calls upon Christians who are contemplating the sale of property to see as of first importance the need of minority families for equal housing opportunities and adequate housing, and to make their houses available to all qualified purchasers without regard to race;

Directs the attention of homeowners to several studies, available from the Department of Social Education and Action, of the effect of nonwhite purchases on adjacent property values, demonstrating that values do not necessarily decline, and in fact often rise, after such purchases;

Urges sessions to bring Christians together in *covenants of open occupancy* which will stem the tendency toward "panic selling," and stabilize their neighborhoods on a nonsegregated basis.

Victims of Reprisals

Noting with respect to the Supreme Court decision affecting racial segregation in public schools:

1. That the governments of at least six states have committed themselves, with substantial support in public opinion, either to oppose absolutely or to delay as long as possible compliance with the decision;

2. That in some areas of our country groups calling themselves by such names as the White Citizens Councils have formed for the express purpose of using "every lawful means" to maintain racial segregation in all areas of life;

3. That economic pressure, intimidation, social and political pressure are com-

monly used, while racial violence, bloodshed, and murder are not unknown;

4. That men supporting desegregation have lost jobs, had their mortgages foreclosed, insurance policies canceled, credit cut off, and wholesale deliveries of goods stopped;

5. That some individuals, both laymen and ministers, of many denominations have taken courageous positions in their churches and communities and have been severely ostracized by friends and even family;

6. That several ministers of the gospel are known to have been forced out of their pulpits because of statements they had made or positions they had taken relative to this issue;

7. That a significant number of Presbyterian, U.S.A., members have been subjected to indignities, intimidations, beatings, cross-burnings, and harassing litigations,

The 168th General Assembly

Assures members of our presbyteries and churches who may be under persecution of the corporate support of our church and directs the Stated Clerk to give them encouragement, counsel, and other assistance as he may judge to be appropriate;

Urges Christians individually and corporately to help bear the burdens of their fellow men under persecution, by sending gifts of money to Church World Service for the relief of persons designated as 'political refugees in our own country."

Job Discrimination

Noting that discrimination in employment consigns Negroes and other minority persons to the least desirable jobs without consideration of their personal qualifications or training, thereby depriving them of dignity and vocational opportunity,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Presbyterian employers to take such steps as may be necessary to break the pattern of discrimination in employment;

Urges Christians to give individual and corporate support to employers who have courageously employed Negroes on a nondiscriminatory basis, prevailing patterns and attitudes of their community to the contrary;

And urges Christians to give support in the most appropriate ways for a Federal Fair Employment Practices law.

Rights for All

Recognizing the efforts of those responsible persons and organizations that have sought through the courts by legal means to secure Constitutional rights for all,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Christians to give them their prayerful support and to participate in their efforts.

Corporate Action

Noting that every major denomination has voiced support of the Supreme Court's decisions, but that pressures on individuals and churches at the local level to conform to the prevailing mood have been extreme in many localities;

Being aware that some Christians, both laymen and ministers, have supported the programs of White Citizens Councils and like groups, and a few have assumed positions of leadership in them, and that many Christians are urging ministers not to take positions against segregation;

Acknowledging the impossibility of apportioning degrees of guilt or innocence for a sin that afflicts the whole body of the church, and that it is the church's mission to be a prophetic voice of God's judgment and an instrument of his grace;

Remembering that the Scripture enjoins us all to "teach and admonish one another" (Col. 3: 16), and to "stir up one another to love and good works" (Heb. 10: 24), and believing Christians acting corporately and together are stronger in the Spirit than when left to act only as individuals,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins presbyteries and, especially, church sessions to consider prayerfully, in the light of the testimony of Scripture for love and justice, the common voice of the church universal against racial segregation, and the developments cited above, the corporate response God asks of them in their own specific situations; and

Urges sessions of churches located in communities of racial tension to find ways of bringing Christians and other citizens together in small groups across racial lines to discuss their problems and goals.

—1956

Special Studies

Special issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS are available on request to the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Each of the following issues deals with a specific social concern. Sessions, men's groups, women's groups, family night discussion groups, young people's groups may want to plan a series of studies on one or more of these issues.

March, 1955—*Alcohol Re-examined*

January, 1956—*Selected Resources on Race Relations*

April, 1956—*Patriotism on the Far Right*

December, 1956—*Worship and Witness*

January, 1957—*Instrumentalities of Faithfulness*

February, 1957—*Modern Palestine*

April, 1957—*Changing America*

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